

583 led to serious quarrels, especially if the girl had been kept by her parents or
602 brother for an exchange marriage. Usually, these quarrels were settled in due
578 course upon payment of a suitable bridewealth and sometimes by a subsequent
marriage for which the abductor's family provided the bride. Williams
comments:

The remarkable gestures of hostility against the husband's people which sometimes characterise Orokaiva marriage, i.e. the attempted dragging away of the bride by her people, the humiliation of the bridegroom, the damaging of his village and the bellicose demonstrations at the taking over of the *dorobu* (= bridewealth), all properly belong to the irregular methods of capture and elopement; they are the aftermath, the retaliation (1930: 149).

583 The third and fourth marriage forms distinguished by Williams are purchase
584 (i.e. obtaining a wife in exchange for *dorobu*) and exchange (*mine*, i.e. an arrangement whereby two men each make a true or classificatory sister available to the other). It seems that Williams did not differentiate clearly between modes of obtaining a wife and modes of making a valid marriage contract. One might obtain a wife in a number of ways. Certainly, capture and abduction seem to have been the most frequent at one time, but there were also child betrothals; long-standing preferential arrangements between villages; romances leading to sister exchange and marriages to seal political alliances. There was the whole gamut between choices made by lovers without parental approval and choices (probably relatively less frequent) made by parental fiat. But there were only two ways of making a valid marriage contract, namely *dorobu* and *mine*. Williams himself comes very close to this view towards the end of his chapter on 'Marriage' (1930: Ch. IX). He also maintains, no doubt correctly, that in Orokaiva thought *mine* appears as the 'ideal', i.e. preferential, mode of contracting a marriage:

It appears that marriage by exchange is preferable to marriage by purchase — at least in the eyes of the marriageable man, and probably also in the eyes of his elders who sympathise with his desires. We may perhaps go so far as to say that the actual buying of a wife only takes place when circumstances make present or future exchange impossible (1930: 149).

This seems to place Williams' theory firmly on the side of Guiart's theory of marriage in New Caledonia: exchange marriage becomes the preferential mode, the 'model', whereas marriage 'by purchase' is demoted to the status of an ecologically caused departure from the 'model'. In this chapter I shall argue that Williams' Orokaiva theory reifies the folk model and conceals some of the complexity of Orokaiva social structure.

4. Elements of Restricted Exchange

582 Marriage rules related to the principle of restricted exchange are actually more
583 numerous than Williams supposed. They must be briefly reviewed before we can argue cogently that the principle of restricted exchange does not suffice to account for the rules governing the total Orokaiva marriage system. Williams was entirely right in supposing that the Orokaiva have preferential sister exchange

Marriage

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marriage, even though actual cases recorded in the three village investigated are only 5 per cent of the total for true siblings and the proportion is declining. Sister exchange marriages were considered best because relations between affines were apt to be the most harmonious and also because no bride price was necessary. As any trouble that occurs in family life is apt to be ascribed to sorcery by affines, it was thought that families founded on sister exchange marriage would be the most likely to prosper in respect of health, stability and economic success. 582
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Furthermore, there is an explicit rule of preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage. All informants were agreed that the most proper marriage partner is one who is addressed as *simbo* before marriage; Williams defines *simbo* as 'child of the father's sister; children of all *tata*; child of the mother's brother; children of all *nobo*, i.e. cross-cousins' (1930: 109). Out of twenty-two married couples resident in Sivepe, fourteen actually called each other *simbo* before marriage. Williams notes that *simbo* marriages were extremely common in the communities he studies (1930:132), but does not seem to have been told of the preferential rule. [601]

The existence of such a rule can be inferred not only from direct statements, but also from investigation of the primary meaning of the term *simbo* itself. The primary meaning is not cross-cousin and we shall later see that the two terms do not entirely share the same field of reference. *Simbo* is an arrangement of marriage. A *simbo* may be established when a boy's parents bring part of a bridewealth to the parents of a girl they want their son to marry. If the arrangement is acceptable, the parents help in the garden of their son's future affines and continue to send food. Such an arrangement is usually made immediately after the rituals following the girl's first menstruation. If the *simbo* is broken, the girl's parents must pay back the gifts. In a secondary sense, the word *simbo* also refers to that category of consanguines with which betrothals of the kind just described can be properly made. All members of that category are either cross-cousins in the strict sense, or consanguines with whom kinship can be traced neither wholly in the patriline, nor wholly in the matriline. 582
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There are also rules establishing preferential marriage between specific villages. Though Williams did not notice the presence of this rule among the Orokaiva, he described a very similar rule obtaining among the Koiari, where he spoke of 'reciprocating pairs of groups' (1932). Under this arrangement, two local clan groups or exogamous lineages give wives to each other from generation to generation, each side supplying as near as possible an equal number. A group that has received a wife is expected to send one back in the same or the next generation. If the return prestation occurs in the same generation one may speak of sister exchange; if it occurs in the next generation, the rule is expressed by the Orokaiva as *eta data jimburi*, i.e. marrying in the mother's village. 582
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This rule applies especially to girls who are expecting to go to the village from which their mother has been taken, thus balancing accounts between reciprocating pairs of groups. Such a rule cannot properly be described as a prescription for patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, as there is at the same time a preference for sister exchange, so that the total pattern of marriages between reciprocating pairs of groups is ideally (and in fact commonly) bilateral. I found that 35 per cent of Orokaiva marriages now in force were contracted in accordance with the rule of *eta data jimburi*, for a period not less than two generations.

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476 again reflecting assistance given by young people from outside the village. In addition to the two Sewa men, whose help was requested by the entrepreneur, a young married couple came from Kendata village to assist household 17. These were the children of the sister of the household head's wife, who is also from Kendata.

Assistance in hunting and butchering of game shows marked seasonality, falling almost entirely into period I. This reflects the concentration of feasting in the same period, when men will request the help of those noted for their skill in hunting to provide the necessary meat.

Assistance in household tasks such as collecting water and cooking is mostly given by visitors, particularly women, from outside the village (see Table 11:16). The widow, however, received considerable help from two villagers when she made about 20 ~~kapa~~ cloths. Household assistance accounts for only 5 per cent of the subsistence services.

437 Most cash sector services are given in establishing or tending commercial crops, particularly the pruning and weeding of coffee gardens, which accounts for 55 per cent of the time disposed and 39 per cent of the time acquired. One man received assistance from close kin (his mother and sister) in clearing and staking out a new coffee garden.¹ One-fifth of the labour given was in weeding coconuts on a settlement block across the Girus River, reflecting an obligation incurred by one householder who had married the settler's step-daughter. Assistance received by the trade store owner in operating his store and in marketing other produce accounts for most of the other services in the cash sector. Labour assistance in the cash sector accounts for only 12 per cent of all services given, but assistance in the main task, maintenance of coffee, exceeds that given in many subsistence operations and equals the amount given in hunting services. Thus, although the cash sector remains in some ways (as in the circulation of cash itself) peripheral to the village economy, it is integrated to the extent that it provides a recognised channel for meeting obligations through labour services.² In some cases, the receipt of assistance requires a return gift of cash, such assistance being one of the few sources of cash income available for old people or for women. In other cases, as with the settler's son-in-law, assistance in the cash sector is a means of meeting a traditional obligation. In sum,

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¹ See p.246.

● [584] ² Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:81, footnote), referring to assistance given to the Girus block settler by his son-in-law, point out that traditionally a prospective groom would assist his father-in-law with house-building or garden clearance.

583 is still transferred in most marriages, including those which take
place in a church.

799 Polygyny was accepted but probably not frequent in traditional
Orokaiva society. In spite of mission opposition there are still
595 instances of polygyny but the great majority of marriages are
614 monogamous. Marriage outside the clan is considered preferable
582 but there are numerous cases of marriage within the clan. The
[621] village is not considered an exogamous unit. Marriages are usually
591 patrilineal but this is not a definite rule (cf. Williams 1930:130-3).

III

584 In this particular marriage the groom lived in Inonda, a village
of approximately 45 people about 11 miles from Popondetta.¹ His
was the only family of the Jegotumo lineage of the Andiriha clan in
Inonda, although there were others at Hohota I and Kakendetta.²
The groom was the eldest child by his father's first wife. His
mother died several years before his marriage and his father
remarried. The father died six weeks before the marriage payment
described here took place.

The groom attended Anglican mission schools for eight years and
reached Standard V. He was baptized in 1958. In 1960, when he was
about 16, he left school to train as a medical orderly at a mission
hospital at Embi about ten miles from Inonda. In 1962 he returned
to his father's household in Inonda and was employed by the govern-
ment for \$3 per week to tend the ford where the road from Popondetta
to Oro Bay crossed the Girua river. He also assisted with the
production of coffee, from which the household earned approximately
\$16.00 annually, and with the household's food gardens.

The bride attended mission schools for four years and reached
Standard III but was not baptized. Her father, who died during
World War II, had been the head of Joremba'embo lineage and of the
Andiriha sub-clan in Inonda as well as headman of that village.
After her father's death the bride went with her mother, elder
sister and brother to live with her mother's elder brother at Ajoro
village about five miles away. In 1948 a parallel cousin of her
father was demobilized from the army and married her mother, there-
by becoming her adoptive father (to be referred to hereafter simply
as her father). Subsequently she lived in his household in Inonda

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

¹ See map, p. 84^A

² See diagram, p. 85^A and Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:14-25.

A [See Category 102, p. 84--Analyst]

B [See Category 583, p. 85--Analyst]

where he was headman for about 12 years. In 1960 he moved his household to a block he was allocated in a land settlement project a short distance from Inonda across the Girua River, but he continued to exert strong influence in the affairs of Inonda. 584

A man from Seva wished to marry the girl but her father and brother opposed the marriage because, they said, her married sister at Seva was not happy there. When the present groom returned to Inonda in 1962 she was attracted to him and rejected the Seva man in his favour. The Seva man's family were displeased and it was rumoured that they were responsible for the sorcery which caused the groom's father to die.

Late in June, without her father's permission, the bride stayed in the groom's household for a few days and the couple made it known that they wished to marry. The bride's father and brother, especially the former, opposed the marriage. They gave several reasons, but it is difficult to know which was the most important. They said they were angry because she 'ran away' to live in the groom's father's house and that they wished her to marry a man of better prospects and from a family of greater prestige. Her brother, formerly a mission teacher, said she should be baptized so that she could have a church marriage, but this did not happen. Both bride and groom were of the Andiriha clan, but this deviation from the Orokaiva preference for clan exogamy was never openly used as a basis for objection to the marriage.

The bride-wealth for the marriage was set, principally by the bride's father, at \$200 in cash and the equivalent of \$200 comprising a pig, traditional valuables,¹ household utensils and food. Villagers considered this an extremely high price and evidence collected in the village suggests this was so (see Table 1). An Orokaiva research assistant who had travelled widely through the area said it was unusually high for a small clan such as the Andiriha, although not unusual for large clans.² Moreover, as the marriage was endogamous to the clan, the groom could not call on the entire clan's support. 583 [114]

The bride's father said he needed the money to establish a retail store and to buy a motor vehicle, but in September 1965 he had not realized these ambitions. His opposition to the marriage may have moved him to set a high price in the hope of discouraging the groom. However, informants said it was not unusual for a parent or guardian to make a display of anger towards a daughter's 584

¹ Traditional ornaments, and feather head-dresses will be referred to collectively as 'traditional valuables'.

² C. Bureau, personal communication.

Table 1

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Bride-wealth paid for three women married into, and two
marrying out of Andiriha sub-clan, Inonda

	In 1	In 2*	In 3	Out 1	Out 2**
Approximate date	1961	1958	1953	1960	1964-5
Cash	\$74	\$22	\$40	\$22	\$74
Pigs	2	?	1	?	nil
Traditional valuables, utensils, etc.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?
Food	Approx. \$12	Yes	Yes	Yes	?

* Woman with illegitimate child.

** Required of a man from Madang District for a girl of Joremba'embo lineage.

584) suitor (cf. Williams 1930:31, 141, 144, 149-50). The people of Inonda were aware of high prices paid for women near Port Moresby¹ and the bride's father, a man of high prestige in the area, may have been attempting to raise local prices towards the level of prices in urban areas.

The groom and his father complained about the price but accepted it as a challenge which must be answered by payment.

Between the time the price was set and the time it was paid, bride and groom spent much time together. For about three weeks the groom and a classificatory sister lived at the bride's father's farm where they helped with farm work. One weekend the bride, groom and bride's father went on a fishing expedition, indicating that the bride's father had consented to the marriage.

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768 About a month before the bride-wealth was paid the groom's father died and the responsibility for organizing the payment passed to the head of the Darafa'embo lineage of the Andiriha sub-clan in Hohota II. This man will be referred to as 'the organizer'. Ideally the responsibility would have passed to a senior man of the Jegotumo lineage in Inonda, but the groom himself was the most senior. The responsibility could have devolved to the senior man of Jegotumo lineage in either Hohota I or Kakendetta, where Jegotumo was represented, but the only Jegotumo

¹ Bride-wealth exchanges in Hanuabada, Central District, at the time were mostly in the range \$600-\$1200 in cash plus an equivalent amount in traditional valuables (N.D. Oram, personal communication).

353 *tapa* cloths, also worn on ceremonial occasions; often nowadays mother's best dress and father's best shorts and shirt are also kept in this box. Everyday tools—fishing spears, pig spear, bush knife, and axe—are stored between the floor joists under the floor platform. A bundle of dry firewood may be stored under the house in case of a prolonged spell of wet weather. The dwelling of each clan fishing-leader is easily recognized by the large seine net hung to dry under the eaves or rolled in a corner of the verandah.

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342 The Yega build one other form of dwelling, a garden shelter (*dobo*) usually roughly constructed with leaf walls, frequently open at one end and often so low from floor to roof that a person cannot stand erect in it. A *dobo* is a temporary dwelling, built near the swidden in current use, and used by a man and his family for up to a week at a time while they are working in their gardens, which may be three or four miles from the village. The *dobo* is also used to shelter from rain or to take a siesta during shorter, one-day visits to the garden.

343 A *gaga* is simply a talking platform where men sit for a chat, a chew (of betelnut) or a smoke during siesta time, or after the day's work is done. There is usually at least one *gaga* for each clan in a village. The *gaga* performs an important social function for it is here that quarrels are settled, marriages arranged, and the everyday problems and business of the village discussed and finalised.

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291 Everyday clothing is a pair of shorts and maybe a shirt or a singlet for boys and men, and a cotton dress or skirt for girls and women.

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The traditional body covering for both men and women was beaten out bark-cloth of the paper mulberry tree. This is used throughout the Pacific and is known as *tapa*. *Tapa* skirts and loin cloths are still worn on special occasions, such as weddings and New Year singings, while many older people wear *tapa* to church on Sundays. The Yega and their neighbours are expert *tapa*-makers but they did not have either the suitable clay or the art of pot-making. They used to trade their *tapa* for pots from Ambasi, thirty miles to the north, and from Wanigela, 100 miles to the south. This trade has now declined because everybody can

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[P 11-A)

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12-A]

Friendship and Kinship

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572 Relationships of this sort are sometimes intertribal as women abducted by enemies were in the habit of maintaining contact with each other, and such contact was inherited by their sons and daughters. When men belong to an *otavo* relationship (see p. 67 below), their wives address each other as *jao*.

602 (c) *Simbo*. Outside the cooperative group, social relations (even with consanguines) are spoken of as voluntary. This applies especially to distant consanguines and non-resident consanguines. Thus, the kin category *simbo* must contain many members, if purely genealogical criteria are to be used. If two consanguines share no plant emblem and are related through siblings of the opposite sex, they fall within the *simbo* category (the term is not precisely equivalent to cross-cousins). There is no limit on kinship distance, and persons recognized as *simbo* may be cousins several times removed. Often, it is impossible to reconstruct the genealogical connection. Like Orokaiva kin links, this one is simply inherited from generation to generation (bilaterally, in this case).

As one cannot get informants to list more than ten or twelve *simbo* families dispersed in a number of villages, one must assume that *simbo* links, like those of hereditary friendship, are often forgotten. On the other hand, one may always rediscover a *simbo* while on a journey, so that there is a reservoir of unused links that can be revived. In general, however, a relationship can be relied upon only if it is kept alive by periodic contact.

[582] The best translation of *simbo* would probably be: potential preferential marriage partner. While the primary meaning refers to a cross-sexual relationship, the male *simbo* have a special kind of bond which fits neither the cooperative nor the competitive exchange category. Literally, *simbo* is a marriage arrangement made when a girl has gone through the ceremony of menstrual seclusion and *kogumbari*,⁸ but is not yet marriageable. Two aspects of the relationship between male *simbo* which are always stressed are the great love *simbo* have towards one another, and the rigorous taboo observances that are customary and strictly enforced.

The taboos resemble those practised between *dambo* (brothers-in-law); this is reasonable because if a man marries his female *simbo*, her brother becomes that man's *dambo*. The same taboos exist against mentioning the *simbo*'s name. All quarreling in the presence of a *simbo* is strictly forbidden. If a quarrel occurs nonetheless and *simbo* orders one to stop, one must obey or else pay a pig as compensation. If *simbo* touches any of one's possessions, one must give that object to *simbo*. A request made by *simbo* cannot be refused. This last rule about possessions and requests does not apply to *dambo*.

[581]⁸ The term means decoration and is applied to face-painting, dressing the head with feathers, the wearing of shell and bone ornaments, armlets, fur arm pendants, and the like. A boy or girl is first decorated on the occasion of initiation. The dressing up is then usually done by an expert in the clan and paid for by the parents. For details see Williams, 1930; Schwimmer, 1970b, 1970c.